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ALL CSCE CAPITALS BY POUCH

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE REVIEW: PART IV; ECONOMIC, SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY
AND ENVIRONMENT

SUMMARY. CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS THAT THE EAST WOULD
USE THE CSCE TO PRESS SPECIFIC DEMANDS FOR ACCESS
TO WESTERN TRADE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, IT HAS SO
FAR FAILED TO LIVE UP TO ITS "DEMANDEUR" ROLE,
BASICALLY STANDING PAT ON THE GENERALITIES OF ITS
PROPOSALS INTRODUCED IN HELSINKI. THE EAST SEEMS
TO BE AIMING ONLY AT BROAD PRINCIPLES WHICH WILL
HAVE UTILITY IN LATER BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH
WESTERN COUNTRIES. AS A RESULT, THE TASK OF
PRESSING SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES HAS FALLEN TO THE
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WEST, WHERE THE EC NINE, DESPITE PONDEROUS
INTERNAL COORDINATION, HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE.
THE ISSUES RAISED BY THE WEST IN THE ECONOMIC
AND SCIENTIFIC AREAS ESSENTIALLY INVOLVE THE EXTENT

TO WHICH NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES CAN OBTAIN SPECIFICITY REGARDING PRE-CONDITIONS AND MODALITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION, WITH EMPHASIS ON DIRECT CONTACTS, IN FACE OF EASTERN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN GENERALIZED BLANKET ENDORSEMENT OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLES. IN ADDITION, THE WEST IS CALLING FOR MORE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND STATISTICAL AND TECHNICAL DATA TO EXPLOIT FULLY THE POTENTIAL FOR EAST-WEST COOPERATION. WITH RESPECT TO TRADE, THE WEST SEEKS TO MITIGATE SPECIFIC IMPEDIMENTS WITHOUT PROPOSING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SOVIET/ EAST EUROPEAN TRADING SYSTEMS. FOR ITS PART, THE EAST WANTS COMMITMENTS ON LIFTING OF WEST EUROPEAN QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS, WHICH IT CONSIDERS THE MAIN TRADE OBSTACLE.

US INTEREST IN THIS AREA OF THE CONFERENCE LIES IN OBTAINING COMMITMENTS BY THE EAST WHICH WILL REINFORCE THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES, ASSURING APPROPRIATE US ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPEAN MULTILATERAL PROGRAMS (SUCH AS ECE), AND MAINTAINING THE INTEGRITY OF SUCH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AS GATT WHICH ARE OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO US. END SUMMARY

1. THERE FOLLOWS A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION IN COMMITTEE II AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEES, INCLUDING (A) REVIEW OF WORK, (B) CENTRAL ISSUES, (C) LIKELY OUTCOME AND (D) IMPLICATIONS FOR US.

2. COMMITTEE II (ECONOMIC COOPERATION)

A. DURING ITS EARLY MEETINGS, THE FULL COMMITTEE DEALT MAINLY WITH PROCEDURAL MATTERS AND HEARD PRESENTATIONS OF MEDITERRANEAN STATES. IN RECENT MEETINGS, THE QUESTION OF THE CONTENT OF A PREAMBLE TO THE BASKET II FINAL DOCUMENT, WHICH MAY BOIL DOWN TO BE THE COMMITTEE'S MAIN TASK, WAS BROACHED BY A YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL FOR INCREASED POST-CONFERENCE ASSISTANCE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AS THE CHRISTMAS BREAK APPROACHES, THE EAST HAS BEGUN TO ADVANCE ORALLY PROPOSALS FOR RELATING IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT THE SECURITY PRINCIPLES IN BASKET I TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN BASKET II. AN OUTSTANDING FEATURE OF COMMITTEE II AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEES IS THE CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORT OF THE EC NINE TO MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY ON ALL ECONOMIC/TECHNOLOGICAL ISSUES, A PROCESS WHICH IS CUMBERSOME, SOMETIMES FRUSTRATING TO THE NATO FIFTEEN, BUT NEVERTHELESS IMPRESSIVE.

B. THE KEY ISSUE IN THE COMMITTEE ITSELF IS HOW THE WEST SHOULD DEAL WITH THE EASTERN DESIRE TO RELATE

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TO SECURITY IN A BASKET II PREAMBLE. SECONDARY ISSUES ARE HOW THE CONFERENCE SHOULD TREAT THE SUBJECT OF ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND HANDLE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRY PAPERS.

C. THE EAST WILL PROBABLY SUCCEED IN OBTAINING A BASKET II PREAMBLE LINKING PROGRESS IN EUROPEAN "SECURITY" AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION. IN EXCHANGE, THE WEST WILL PROBABLY OBTAIN REFERENCE IN THE PREAMBLE TO COOPERATION "UNDER CONCITIONS OF RECIPROCITY OF ADVANTAGES AND OPPORTUNITIES" AND A GREATER DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY IN SUBCOMMITTEE DOCUMENTS. THERE WILL PROBABLY ALSO BE A REFERENCE IN THE PREAMBLE TO A MORE HELPFUL EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES INCLUDING THOSE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

D. IF THE PREAMBLE DESIRED BY THE EAST DOES NOT CONSITITUTE AN UNACCEPTABLE PRECEDENT FOR BASKET III, THE US COULD ACCEPT THE OUTCOME DESCRIBED IN SUBPARA C.

3. SUBCOMMITTEE 3 (COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES)

A. THE WEST HAS CONCENTRATED ON IDENTIFYING OBSTACLES TO TRADE AND HAS ADVOCATED IMPROVED ACCESS TO AND INFORMATION ON EASTERN MARKETS. EAST HAS DEFENDED ITSELF BY CONCENTRATING ON OBSTANCLES IN THE WEST, PRINCIPALLY QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS. WHEN WESTERN QUESTIONING OF EASTERN PRACTICES BECAME TO EXIGENT, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE EAST INVOKED THE HELSINKI UNDERSTANDING THAT DIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS WOULD BE RESPECTED. THE EC COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVE, SITTING WITH THE DANISH DELEGATION, HAS SPOKEN ON COMMERCIAL MATTERS OVER INITIAL STRONG OBJECTIONS BY THE EAST.

B. ALTHOUGH MFN TREATMENT IS AN AGENDA TOPIC, THE EAST HAS HANDLED THE ISSUE DISCREETLY. THE WEST'S CENTRAL OBJECTIVE IS TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM EASTERN CONCESSIONS ON ACCESS AND INFORMATION BUT WESTERN EUROPE HAS NOT ACCEPTED THAT ITS QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS FORM A VALID QUID PRO QUO. WHILE THE EC NINE MAY BE WILLING TO ACCEPT SOME GENERAL COMMITMENT TO POST-CONFERENCE WOeking OUT OF TRADE OBSTACLES, THEY DO NOT NOW SEEM PREPARED TO MAKE ANY CONCRETE CONCESSIONS ON QRS IN THE CONFERENCE CONTEST, PREFERRING BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH APPROPRIATE COUNTER-CONCESSIONS FROM THE EAST. GIVEN THE WEST'S UNREADINESS TO MAKE A DEAL INVOLVING MFN AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT, IT TENDS TO FALL INTO THE ROLE OF DEMANDING UNILATERAL EASTERN CONCESSIONS.

C. THE CONFERENCE WILL PROBABLY AGREE ON HORTATORY

LANGUAGE ON ENCOURAGEMENT OF TRADE. IN ADDITION, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT REFERENCES TO MFN TARIFF TREATMENT AND REDUCTION OF QRS ACCEPTABLE TO THE US AND THE WEST CAN BE WORKED OUT. THERE WILL PROBABLY BE SOME USEFUL PROVISIONS ON ARBITRATION AND HARMONIZATION OF STANDARDS. BEYOND THAT, GREATER EASTERN RECEPTIVITY WILL BE REQUIRED THAN IS NOW APPARENT TO ACHIEVE EVEN SOME OF THE WEST'S DESIDERATA ON BUSINESS ACCESS, ECONOMIC DATA DISCLOSURE AND INFORMATION ON EASTERN MARKETS.

D. AN OPTIMUM SUBCOMMITTEE RESULT WOULD BE (A) SERIOUS EASTERN COMMITMENTS TO AN IMPROVED FLOW OF DATA AND CONTACTS AND FACILITIES FOR WESTERN BUSINESSMEN; (B) A GENERALIZED PROMISE BY WEST EUROPEAN ON FUTURE NEGOTIATION OF A REDUCTION IN ARS IN RETURN FOR AN EQUALLY GENERAL SAFEGUARD CLAUSE. BOTH OF THESE ARE DESIRABLE FROM US VIEWPOINT BUT, REALISTICALLY, ANY MUTUAL COMMITMENTS ARE LIKELY TO BE VAGUE AND THEIR PRACTICAL EFFECT MODEST. SINCE THE EAST SEEMS TO HAVE MADE A TACTICAL DECISION NOT TO PLACE
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THE US UNDER UNDUE PRESSURE ON MFN AT THIS TIME, WE EXPECT SOME INNOCUOUS REFERENCE TO MFN CAN BE WORKED OUT.

4. SUBCOMMITTEE 4 (INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION)

A. THE EAST HAS SO FAR SOUGHT ONLY GENERALIZED ENDORSEMENT BY THE WEST AND AGREEMENT ON FEASIBILITY STUDIES FOR CERTAIN LONG-TERM PROJECTS. THE WEST ORGANIZED ITS APPROACH AROUND A SERIES OF PAPERS TABLED BY THE FRG WHICH HAD NINE APPROVAL AND NATO COORDINATION. THESE PAPERS ATTEMPTED TO GIVE THE WORK OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE A MORE CONCRETE CHARACTER BUT, IN FACT, BOILED DOWN TO PROPOSALS FOR WIDER DISSEMINATION OF COOPERATION OPPORTUNITIES, MORE DETAILED TECHNICAL DATA ON PROJECTS OFFERED, DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN ENTERPRISES, OPPORTUNITIES FOR REASIBILITY STUDIES, ETC. THE EAST DEFENDED ITS EXISTING PRACTICES, BUT DISCUSSION THROUGHOUT HAS PROCEEDED IN A BUSINESS-LIKE ATMOSPHERE, AND NO WESTERN PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN RULED OUT CATEGORICALLY.

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B. THE MAIN ISSUE IS WHETHER THE WEST CAN SECURE USEFUL COMMITMENTS FROM THE EAST ON DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL DATA AND MORE DIRECT CONTACTS, WHILE NOT BECOMING UNDULY COMMITTED BY THE EAST TO PURSUE SO-CALLED "COMMON INTEREST" PROJECTS OF INFRASTRUCTURE CHARACTER SUCH AS POWER GRID AND ROAD AND RAIL LINKS.

C. THE LIKELY RESULT IS A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS COMBINING ENDORSEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, ALTHOUGH IN LESS SPECIFIC FORM THAN SOME COUNTRIES OF THE EAST WANT, WITH REFERENCES TO MORE SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS ON DATA EXCHANGE AND CONTACTS URGED BY THE WEST. THE ECE MAY BE ASSIGNED SOME ROLE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LATTER.

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D. WHILE THE US IS OBVIOUSLY ABLE TO NEGOTIATE MORE MEANINGFUL COMMITMENTS FROM THE EAST THROUGH ITS OWN JOINT COMMISSIONS AND OTHER BILATERAL MECHANISMS, IT IS IN THE US POLITICAL AND LIMITED ECONOMIC INTEREST TO SUPPORT WEST EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO SECURE EASTERN UNDERTAKINGS OF THE KIND LISTED IN SUBPARA A ABOVE. IF THE EAST CAN BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT CONCRETELY FORMULATED RESOLUTIONS AND WELL-DEFINED COMMITMENTS COVERING INFORMATION AND CONTACTS, THESE WILL HAVE MODERATE ECONOMIC VALUE. ALTHOUGH HUNGARY HAS STRESSED TO US THE POLITICAL VALUE OF INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS THAT CREATE GREATER EAST-WEST LINKAGE IN EUROPE, WE DO NOT SEE CLEAR ADVANTAGES TO THE US OF PRESSING WEST EUROPEANS IN THIS AREA.

5. SUBCOMMITTEE 5 (SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY)

A. BLAND GENERALITIES AND TECHNOLOGICAL EMPHASIS OF THE GDR/HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN COUNTERED BY WESTERN PAPERS CONTAINING SPECIFICS REGARDING CRITERIA, AREAS, FORMS AND METHODS OF COOPERATION, AND REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES THERETOM. REGARDING AREAS, THE WEST IS INSISTING THAT THESE BE OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND THAT ANY LISTING BE ILLUSTRATIVE AND INDICATIVE, LEAVING IT TO SPECIALISTS TO IDENTIFY PROJECTS WHICH ARE FEASIBLE AND RECIPROCALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. THE UK HAS CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED COMMERCIAL CHANNELS FOR TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY.

B. THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE IS RECONCILIATION OF EASTERN PREFERENCE FOR GENERALITY AND ONE-WAY ADVANTAGES IN TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER WITH WESTERN EMPHASIS ON SPECIFICITY, REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES, AND RECIPROCAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND ADVANTAGES. EXTENT OF THE FUTURE ROLE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE ECE, STILL NEEDS TO BE RESOLVED, NOT ONLY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, BUT WITHIN THE WESTERN GROUP, WHERE SOME ARE SKEPTICAL AND THE UK IS ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE.

C. THE FINAL DOCUMENT WILL PROBABLY BE BASED PRIMARILY ON WESTERN SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WITH SOFTENED CONFIDENTIAL

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LANGUAGE ON REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES, SOME OF WHICH WILL BE INCORPORATED AS POSITIVE EXPRESSIONS IN PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE AND IN THE SECTION ON METHODS OF COOPERATION. AREAS FOR COOPERATION, INCLUDING SUB-TOPICS, WILL BE GENERALIZED SOMEWHAT AND WILL INCLUDE SOME PROPOSED BY EAST AS AN OUTCOME OF FUTURE BARGAINING. REFERRAL OF CERTAIN TOPICS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WILL PROBABLY BE IN VERY GENERAL TERMS. GDR/HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS FOR A EUROPEAN CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND A PERIODICAL PUBLICATION HAVE LITTLE CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE DUE TO WESTERN OPPOSITION TO NEW INSTITUTIONS AND THE APPARENT LACK OF EASTERN UNANIMITY ON THESE PROPOSALS.

D. SINCE WESTERN COORDINATION HAS BEEN RATHER EXTENSIVE, THERE SHOULD BE FEW PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANCE FOR THE US. HOWEVER, CONTINUING CONSULTATION, PARTICULARLY WITH THE UK AND FRG, WILL BE IMPORTANT IN VIEW OF THE UK PREFERENCE FOR COMMERCIAL CHANNELS FOR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, AND IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE FRG VIEWS ON POST-CSCE INSTITUTIONS (INCLUDING THE PROPOSED FRG SCIENCE FORUM) WHICH HAVE FOR BONN SPECIAL POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

6. SUBCOMMITTEE 6 (ENVIRONMENT)

A. THERE ARE NO BASIC CONTRADICTIONS IN SUBSTANCE BETWEEN THE GDR/HUNGARIAN PROPOSAL AND THE HALF DOZEN PAPERS SUBMITTED BY THE WEST AND NEUTRALS. PARTS OF THE ORIGINAL GDR/HUNGARIAN PROPOSAL AND ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ARE BEING AMALGAMATED BY THE WEST FOR TABLING AFTER THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. THIS AMALGAMATED PROPOSAL INCLUDED: A DESCRIPTION OF GENERAL AREAS FOR COOPERATION GLEANED PRIMARILY FROM NATO-APPROVED WORKING PAPERS FRAMEWORKS FOR COOPERATION INCLUDING EXISTING AND PROJECTED MULTILATERAL CONVENTIONS, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, BILATERAL AND REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS; AND LISTED FORMS OF COOPERATION.

B. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN NO MAJOR EAST-WEST ISSUES, RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS INDICATE THAT THE EAST, IN ADDITION TO PRESSING FOR VAGUER FORMULATIONS, WILL
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INSIST ON A VERY GRADUAL APPROACH TO THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL ON DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL LAW. IT WILL ALSO QUESTION THE CAPACITY OF THE ECE TO COPE WITH "OPERATIONAL" PROGRAMS, PREFERRING THAT THESE BE TAKEN UP BY CSCE FOLLOW-ON INSTITUTIONS.

C. THE EAST IS LIKELY TO ACCEPT MOST OF THE WESTERN FORMULATIONS, IN POSSIBLY ABBREVIATED FORM. HOWEVER, A CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL LAW PROPOSAL WILL PROBABLY BE QUALIFIED TO ASSURE THROUGH ATTENTION TO CRITERIA, STANDARDS AND NORMS OF POLLUTION PRIOR TO WORK ON CODIFICATION. UNLESS WESTERN COUNTRIES INDICATE THEY ARE WILLING TO RECOMMEND NEW OPERATIONAL ROLES FOR ECE AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PRO

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